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**EDITORIAL**

**KERALA REJECTS THE COMMUNISTS**

As we go to press, we have results of the polling of 90 seats which declare the unambiguous triumph of democracy in Kerala, the results being 66 in favour of the Democratic Front of Congress, PSP and Muslim League as against 19 seats for Communists. The Democratic Front has already secured a majority since the total is 126 and it has secured 66 members. The Congress has secured 44, the PSP 15 and Muslim League 7 at the time of writing. Further two seats for Congress have come making the democratic number 68 out of 92. There are two communist-supported independents, one RSP and one Karnataka Samiti and one independent.

It is clear that Congress and the Alliance will have further additions in the remaining 18 seats to be announced.

The communists are decisively defeated and there is no fear of their continued havoc in the seats of Government in Kerala.

A word of praise is due to the Adviser regime which cleaned up the Augean stables in a short period and re-established a sense of confidence in the law and situation. The police were toned up and impartiality reaffirmed.

The election efforts of the alliance and the communists were unprecedented in the thoroughness of

the canvassing and the methods of propaganda, using posters, flags, newspapers, photographs, sketches and every possible medium of publicity. Poles carrying 126 flags for 126 seats with an umbrella of three colours to represent the three members of the alliance were set up in many places. Jathas of canvassers visited homes and formed processions. The whole State even in its remotest corners shared in the election fever. Tons of money must have been spent by the competitors. The sources of the Communist funds still remain a mystery. Where did they get their lakhs of rupees for their numerous jeeps?

The success of democracy in Kerala is due to the political awareness of the middle and lower middle classes who were struck aghast at the flagrant day in which the Communists regarded the State as their personal property and ignored all cannons of impartiality. They treated the non-working classes as their enemy. A State within a State was established glaringly. Public money was diverted into party coffers in a systematic fashion. Murders were frequent to intimidate opposing parties. The far-bruited fame of the communists for abolishing corruption was conspicuous by its absence. They were as corrupt as Congress worthies and worse. The Nair Service Society and the personality of Sri Mannath Padmanabhan and the wisdom of Christians in joining him were the main causes of the triumph. The Congress-PSP-League Alliance has justified itself.

The victory at the polls has now to be consolidated by wise and pure government by the Alliance in the coming years. The General Elections are only two years ahead.

### THE RUSSIAN MAGNATES IN INDIA

Messrs Voroshilov, the President of the USSR, Mr. Kozlov, Vice premier and Madame Furtseva are in India (at the time of writing) on a three week visit. They are going round the country seeing our new industrial establishments, some started and run with Russian help like the Bhilai Steel Works and others run with Indian resources entirely. Mr. Kozlov visited the Suratgarh State farm in Rajasthan. They laid a wreath of respect at Rajghat as is wont with visiting foreign magnates.

Mr. Voroshilov said on the occasion that Russians had great respect for Mahatma Gandhi and appreciated his contribution to the cause of Indian independence. But here his discretion forsook him, for it is remembered by the knowledgeable among us that the Russian Encyclopaedia had depicted Gandhi as a bourgeois leader of India who was not keen on real independence at all but only wanted equal opportunities for Indian capitalists with the British exploiters. It instanced Gandhi's withdrawal of the announced satyagraha campaign after the mob violence at Chari Chaura in 1921.

The Government of India had to protest against such gross misrepresentation in Soviet histories issued by authority.

The Russian chiefs are expressing great appreciation of India's industrial progress and offering continued economic assistance without political

strings to us. But the refrain in every utterance of theirs is one of peace and India's great contribution to world peace and her great example of non-alignment. It is clear that Russian diplomacy sets great store on India's example of noncommitment in the cold war to either bloc. It is no wonder that Prime Minister Nehru is scared of the hostility that India would incur at Russian hands if he gave up his policy of nonalignment, on account of China's aggression.

Nehru is putting all his eggs in the Russian basket. He is playing for time and hoping that Russia will get China to cease her aggressive designs on India.

Our President Rajendra Prasad referred to China's aggression and breach of Panchsheel in his speech welcoming President Voroshilov. The Russian chief replied that India should continue her present policy of peaceful negotiation for the settlement of international differences.

Mr. Khrushchev is coming to India on a four day halt on his journey to Indonesia. He will no doubt counsel similar peaceful attitudes to China's intransigence. It is clear that Russians do not want India to throw the Chinese invaders out of the border by military action. And it is too much to hope that the Chinese will go out of Ladakh to oblige Russia. Hence the grim prospects are that India under Nehru will acquiesce in the Chinese robbery of the Ladakh region that they have occupied, even as she has tacitly agreed to let Pakistan retain the two-thirds of Kashmir she has taken illegally by force.

### SINO-BURMA AGREEMENT ON BORDER DIFFERENCES

As we go to press, an intriguing announcement of an amicable agreement on border disputes between China and Burma is splashed in the press. Burma too had border troubles with Red China. The McMahon Line extends South down from the Assam bend to north Burma highlands and marks the Sino-Burmese boundary for considerable distance. While Chou En-lai has categorically rejected the McMahon Line in Indian NEFA borders, it is interesting to note that (in the Agreement with Burma's General Ne Win) he has agreed to the Burmese extension of the Line! Does this presage a similar recognition of the Indian part of the Line in future negotiations with India?

In Central Burma, there was a dispute about three village areas. Burma has agreed to give these to China in return for China's surrender for keeps another area in another part of the border given by a Burmese-British-Sino agreement to Burma on "perpetual Lease." Burma can henceforth keep the area permanently without claims from China. Obviously General Ne Win thought this sacrifice worth making in view of Chinese consent to close the border dispute once for all as written into the Agreement. The actual demarcation on the ground

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will be made by joint committees of Burmese and Chinese officers later. After such demarcation of the borders, a Treaty of Settlement, Peace and Concord will be signed between the two high contracting parties. It is noteworthy and characteristic of China's irony and manners that the Agreement should be prefaced with profuse verbiage professing adherence to the five principles of Panchsheel! While India is condemning China for her flagrant breach of Panchsheel, the Sino-Burmese Agreement proclaims that the new accord is arrived at in accordance with its principles of nonaggression and respect for mutual sovereign rights and integrity. It is reminiscent of the Chinese Government's order that the merchants and industrialists whose concerns were taken over in partnership with the State without compensation should go in joyous procession to public offices and hand their properties over with profuse thanks for the honour done to them by the Communist Government in taking their concerns over!

It is clear that this apparent reasonableness in the Burmese border trouble on the part of Chou En-lai is intended for the consumption of world newspapers on the eve of Mr. Khrushchev's visit to India! It is intended to show that a personal meeting with Nehru will yield similar reasonable solutions to the Indo-Chinese differences too! This will gain time for the Chinese and will meet the Russian wishes for a period of quiet till the summit meetings of world leaders projected for May.

In India no political party is happy with the idea of Nehru's meeting with Chou En-lai, except of course the communists, without vacation of aggression by the Chinese at Longju in NEFA and Ladakh. The Jana Sangh in its annual conference at Nagpur held from 23 to 25 of January this year declared that it does not countenance any personal *pour parleys* between the two Premiers until the last Chinese soldier has cleared out of Indian soil. It is understood in Jana Sangh circles that huge demonstrations will be held if the Prime Minister should announce his decision to go to meet Chou En-lai anywhere before Chinese vacation of Indian soil.

#### KHRUSHCHEV'S SENSATIONAL DISARMAMENT GESTURE

The International Situation registered a marked change by the unilateral announcement of a large slice of disarmament by the Russian Chief Mr. Khrushchev—a reduction in ground forces from 3.5 million to 2.5 million men. The Americans have 2.5 million men under arms.

Khrushchev announced that atomic and hydrogen bombs and intercontinental missiles of five thousand miles range were sufficient to deter any aggression by America. Ground forces could therefore be safely reduced substantially.

The Americans point out that they had 11 million men under arms during the height of the war

but reduced their strength rapidly immediately after the war even before the present level of 2.5 million without bargaining so that in the unexpected Korean war forced on them through Stalinist and Chinese aggression, they had to recruit fresh forces and send untrained young men into the field in the early stages.

The Seven Year Industrial Plan of Mr. Khrushchev needs vast manpower aiming as it does at a great new extension both of military and consumer goods industries to surpass the USA in both. Both guns and butter will receive equal attention in the new Plan. Also, the loss of manpower in the Hitler-lite war by Russia has revealed shortages in millions in the present generation of able bodied population. The two and a half men from the Forces will meet this deficit in manpower. Meanwhile no military risk is being taken since the Russians have adequate ICBM's to deter any possible enemy attack.

Moreover Khrushchev realised in his meetings with President Eisenhower and the American ruling classes generally that the Americans do not contemplate war but are only anxious about an aggressive attack by Soviet Russia like the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbour in the last war. Hence he is emoldened to reduce ground forces in a radical manner.

Further disarmament should come through painful and prolonged negotiations as before with the centre of the difficulty lying in the problems of inspection in which the Russians have been adamant so far. They want only Russian teams to inspect on Russian soil! And subject to the Security Council in which they have a Veto!

#### PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S TRIUMPH IN ALGERIA

France passed through a major national crisis last week. Civil war was threatened when the French settlers in Algeria got sick of De Gaulle's policy of offering self-determination to the Arab insurgents. They were adamant in adhering to their passion for integration with France which thwarts for all time the nationalist Arab aspirations for independent Statehood.

The French Algerians defied De Gaulle and barricaded themselves in Algiers. The military paratroopers were **not** prompt in quelling the rebellion since they sympathised with the insurgents. General De Gaulle took the precaution of having doubtful Rightist elements in Metropolitan Paris and searched for evidence of close collaboration with the Algerian French. Many incriminating documents were found. De Gaulle acted promptly. He dismissed the General in Charge of paratroopers, General Massu and ordered the rest of the army to obey him as Marshall and as Head of the State! He ordered them to fight the French rebels in Algiers and observe military discipline for the sake of France. The army obeyed and the rebel men, some 5,000 strong walked out of the barricades,

some surrendering to the troops and some absconding! France was saved from civil war—at least for the time being. Observers compared De Gaulle's difficult position to that of Abraham Lincoln when he ordered war against the Southern seceders in brave but agonised devotion to the Union.

The policy of self-determination to the Arabs remains reaffirmed. It remains to be seen how De Gaulle will strengthen the unity so sorely shaken by the Algerian trouble. His Cabinet is divided on the issue. M. Pinay has resigned and it is said that De Gaulle may take over further powers as President in the emergency curtailing those of the Ministry. It is clear that the bulk of the French nation backs De Gaulle in his brave and resolute efforts to save the French nation and enhance its national prestige vis a vis the other partners in the Western Alliance in the pre-summit period just ahead. Democracy even in the modern home of republicanism may need to be saved from its own inherent defects!

### AFRICAN FREEDOM

Nigeria is to have independence in a matter of months.

Togoland is to be free. The German and French parts have to decide whether they will join Ghana as Nkrumah wishes or opt for separate statehood.

Even the Belgian Congo is promised independence after a visit by the King of the Belgians following a period of violence and rebellion.

The African People's Congress at Tunis has demanded complete freedom for all the remaining African States. It has supported the Algerian Arab cause and has permitted volunteers from African States to go to their help.

Kenya and other British-held territories are on the march too. Mr. MacMillan the British Prime Minister is visiting them studying problems on the spot.

The year 1960 will probably see most of the erstwhile dark continent free from formal allegiance to European nations. Communism is already having a heady effect on the Africans. The leaders educated in Europe and America have the responsibility of guiding this resurgence and opportunity into channels of peaceful partnership and progress.

Nkrumah has the ambition of forming a United States or Federation of all African peoples. But he is meeting with opposition from regional loyalties. The continent is too vast for a single national state. It remains to be seen how this ambition of Ghana's Prime Minister analogous to that of Egypt's President Nasser vis a vis all Arab States will fare in the coming years.

Khrushchev's Seven Year Plan envisages greatly extended assistance to underdeveloped countries

and will enable him to offer attractive terms to African States. Today he has enabled Nasser to fulfil his ambition of building the great Aswan Irrigation Dam on the Nile. The first stage has been successfully completed with Russian Aid in men and materials. Khrushchev has offered further Aid for the second stage. The Americans lost a chance when Dulles refused them Aid—in fact withdrew the Aid already offered in a huff, because Nasser bought arms from Czechoslovakia. This is a hint to us that even purchase of arms has political strings.

How the advanced nations will treat Africa and Asia will be the theme of the coming century. Will they succeed in establishing partnership in progress with them on equal terms in place of the old discredited imperialism?

But this hope is mitigated by the new imperialism of communism—more ruthless than the old European system of the white man's burden.

Can the rivalry of Russian and Euro-American systems be controlled and led into peaceful channels of world collaboration or should war break out destroying the present opportunities of technology for building a world federation? The answer lies on the knees of the gods—or the wisdom of man or rather the wisdom of man's leaders today and tomorrow.

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### A "BRAIN-FREEZE,"

As the answer to the "brain-wash," seems to be the newest wrinkle in the head-fixing competition.

Psychologists at the University of Illinois, apparently attempting to keep pace with the contributions of their brothers in the atomic sciences, are reported to be working on a "shot" to immunize U. S. war-slaves against propaganda and brain-washing, as developed by the scientists of Soviet Capitalism.

The psychologists' "shot," described as "a method of immunizing against persuasion by gradually building up resistance to propaganda as hay fever victims are given defence against pollen," would be administered to the soldiers and sailors along with their typhoid, tetanus and diphtheria inoculations.

The psychologists are perhaps faced with the problem of how to immunize against one side's propaganda, and not the other's. A further problem is perhaps that of un-immunizing, or reversing the immunization when side "A" adopts side "B's" propaganda line, and vice versa. 1984, here we come...barring nuclear accidents!

—Voice of Freedom.

# Rethinking Strikes

By M. A. Venkata Rao

**I**T is the misfortune of the country that after the advent of independence, policy-makers have been adopting in their haste the entire constellation of ideas associated with Leftism in their blue-prints of reconstruction.

The right to strike and the rights of labour generally are a case in point. Recent weeks have brought poignantly to the fore the whole problem of strikes in industry and transport and even Government service in the basic departments. In Madhya Pradesh we have had a strike of Government office employees, unthinkable as such a phenomenon was in the old days and so disruptive of social order by its very nature. The B.E.S.T. company employees in Bombay staged a strike that dislocated the entire civilian traffic of the great city for several days causing untold inconvenience and loss to countless people. It transpired that the strike was motivated by rivalry for power between two trade unions! The lighting strike of the entire pilot staff of All India Airlines on the ground of alleged favouritism to a particular Pilot in the matter of special training for Jet Planes in another glaring example.

The railway and postal employees too have shown their mettle in this matter in recent years and have established their right to strike, irrespective of the damage to civilian economy and the personal life of the population.

The rights of labour as a whole have been taken over from Western examples and climate of ideas without serious thinking *de novo* in terms of Indian conditions and of the inherent principles of justice and contractual procedure arising out of the employment of workers by private owners of Government departments or Government sponsored industries in the public sector.

The Swatantra Party has hitched its wagon to the star of individual freedom. It is bound to recognise therefore all the fundamental freedoms basic to free society and free economy (freedoms subject to regulation only to prevent anti-social abuse.) Exceptions to the domain of private enterprise in certain lines like posts and telegraphs, railways and armaments are of course contemplated with the result that the Party comes to endorse a mixed Economy. Of course the nature of the mixture of private and public enterprise according to the Party is different from the present official mixture which is committed to a growing expansion of public enterprise confining the private sector into ever narrower and more subordinate spheres until some day it will vanish from the scene as in communist countries. This is the inevitable outcome of socialism as doctrine and as end-result of tendencies.

Now therefore it is necessary to rethink the question of the "right to strike" as part of a labour character in the present era of independence and of aspirations for a rapid development of economic wellbeing and abundance.

We should ask bluntly whether there is any fundamental right to strike at all. In all this sphere of labour rights, the rights of the community and consumer are totally forgotten. Socialism moves in the region of producer's rights no less than the demand of capital for the right to start, own and manage industry and commerce with a view to the production of further wealth of goods and services. Strikes are correlative to lockouts. If there is a right to strike, the right to lockout cannot be denied.

The freedom guaranteed by a democratic Constitution to the workers no doubt includes the right to choose his employer and to work on the terms agreed upon by free negotiation. It includes the right to change his employment and travel to any place in the country in search of livelihood without let or hindrance. The right of the worker as a citizen includes the right to deny his work to any employer. All forms of compulsion to work whether with regard to place, employer or terms of employment are contrary to democratic or human rights.

Conceding this however is not to concede the right to strike in the particular sense that has become familiar to us in the practice and claims of trade unions and labour leaders. If a strike meant only that the workers denied their labour to the employer out of free will on account of a breach of contract by the employer in letter or spirit and they cleared away leaving the concern severely alone until wisdom dawned on the management, no serious objection can be urged against strikes through they may occasion much loss and inconvenience to the general public.

But labour strike today is much more than this denial of work on account of a grievance. It means in effect the shutting out of the possibility of the employment of substitute workers and the prevention of the working of the unit altogether. It involves the denial of service to the consumer without so much as a recognition of their presence and interest. After all, the entire set-up of trade, industry, transport, banking, insurance etc., is intended for the service of the general public at the cheapest rates and at as high levels of efficiency as possible.

The intention of bringing the works to a standstill comes out glaringly in the new labour ethos (applied as if it were the most natural thing in the world) condemning strike-breaking by the management, official or unofficial by labour and its leaders and indeed the general public as well. The right to strike in current parlance includes this right to

exclude strike-breaking rights to the management. The management is prevented from carrying on with newly appointed labour. Such workers willing to work during a strike are condemned as scabs and vermin of the worst description who can be fitly destroyed by violence. They have no human rights to exist and find employment on their own terms with the employers!

This condemnation of strike-breaking by engaging new labour is reinforced by picketing, which is therefore an integral part of the right to strike.

It is claimed that picketing in the sense of requesting new workers not to work for the condemned employer who is a party to the dispute is a part of fundamental rights. It amounts to the right to persuade fellow workers not to work (without coercion and threat and bodily hurt.) But in actual experience the strike like satyagraha leads, as a matter of fact, sooner or later to violence and assault.

The right to strike claimed by workers and their leaders in this full sense of preventing management from running the concern with new workers also traverses the right of the new workers to offer their labour freely to the employer. They have a right to be engaged if it suits them. The strikers have no right to prevent others from working. But this right is claimed for them by trade union practice and governments everywhere have succumbed to the illegal claims of labour to prevent work in the factory or concern.

Trade union practice has tacitly and often explicitly proceeded on the assumption that the rights of labour are paramount as against those of capital, official or nonofficial. This claim is enshrined in Marxism whose ideology is the reigning doctrine today even in noncommunist countries. It is forgotten that even according to Marxism, capital is stored labour value. If labour is the sole source of economic value as is claimed by Marxism, it should be pointed out that by the same token, capital as stored labour cannot be denied the rights accorded to current labour, falling as it does within the same category in the last analysis!

To deny capital, whether governmental or private, the right to be used for the creation of further wealth by means of free contract and engagement of free labour based on consent is to deny the fruits of labour to workers in the past who have acquired them through lawful means and ways.

Since the whole end and aim of production is the production of goods and services for the consumption of the people in all ranks including labour, the community should not be allowed to suffer by the unfair protests and strikes of workers.

This does not mean that labour should be denied justice in its dispute with management and ownership. Very often ownership is distributed among a large number of share-holders, sometimes rivalling that of labour in numbers.

Some means of enabling justly aggrieved labour

should be found, which is less costly than strikes which often elicit sympathetic strikes on the part of workers on other establishments. This is only pressure tactics. Any result by way of appeasement (better wages or terms) secured through coercion by striking and preventing work altogether through picketing and violence cannot be regarded as just and durable. It only provokes similar tactics on the part of management and ownership and leads to a vicious circle ultimately creating a condition of class war, so inimical to production, progress and social harmony.

Another factor to be borne in mind in this matter is the strategy and tactics of labour leadership according to Marxism. Lenin has explicitly laid down that the aim of trade unionism should not be merely betterment in wages and living conditions such as housing, unemployment and sickness benefits. The real aim of communist union leadership should be according to his direction the sharpening of the class war mentality on the part of labour! This ultimate aim should be borne in mind in all disputes with capital. The goal is not betterment but the abolishment of private capital altogether, and the establishment of a communist world State! That is why Marxist labour is international and anti-democratic.

There is the further complicating factor of the atmosphere and encouragement of violence. No leader of any standing has openly condemned the violence used by strikers on workers wishing to continue to work, sometimes extending to violence against management officials. This is taking the law into one's own hands.

Strikes thus are psychological equivalents of war and have been permitted without question with all their overtones of violence and coercion holding the community to ransom. Strikes are in the last analysis offences against the community or society as a whole.

It is necessary therefore to revise our notion of the legitimacy of strikes in the current sense.

To accord justice to labour in its legitimate claims for betterment and to guarantee the fulfilment of freely negotiated contracts with management, conciliation in the first stage and compulsory adjudication in the final resort should be seriously considered by the authorities and society. To deny the right to hold up production while granting facilities for impartial justice is not to extinguish freedom. It is only the channeling of freedom into avenues not destructive of public good and convenience.

The character of the State as the fountain of justice should be maintained rigorously. This is more important than the glamour of the welfare State. This function of the State as the arbiter of impartial justice can be maintained more easily and effectively if the State refrains from becoming an economic employer confining itself to the basic departments of law and order, defence and civil justice. Socialism in the end vitiates the very source of justice.

# The Stranglehold of Non-alignment

By M. N. Tholal

**T**HE presidential address of Mr. Pitamber Das at the eighth annual session of Jana Sangh at Nagpur on January 24 last, gives an insight into the mentality of the average Hindu opposed to the Congress on the Chinese issue. To refuse to think out things to their logical conclusion is the hall-mark of a half-baked mind and the presidential address aforesaid is a good example of that refusal. "The nation's interests and honour demand early and effective action to free the Indian soil from Chinese aggression," observed the Jana Sangh President, "Let a date be fixed and China be served with an ultimatum to quit Indian territory within that time." "If it fails to do so," he added, "all necessary steps should be taken to eject it from the occupied areas." And, he added further, "we have still some time to prepare ourselves for necessary action."

Realising perhaps that he would not be able to stand up to cross-examination if he makes definite statements, the Jana Sangh President has preferred to be beautifully vague. What does he mean when he says "all necessary steps should be taken to eject it (China) from the occupied areas if China fails to quit Indian territory" within the time specified in our ultimatum? Whatever the other necessary steps may be, use of force obviously is pre-eminent among them, to eject China from the occupied areas. Fearing that the obvious objection to the proposal would be that India does not have enough force for the purpose, the Jana Sangh President hastily adds, "We have still sometime to prepare ourselves for necessary action." Presumably the period when the ultimatum expires would have to be decided after carefully calculating the time we shall need to prepare ourselves for necessary action. This, again, has been left beautifully vague, thinking perhaps that the audience will be too busy clapping and cheering to realise the implications of the absurd statements he is making.

## LIVING IN A FOOLS' PARADISE

To put in plainly, if the Jana Sangh President thinks that India would by herself be ready for necessary action against China after some time—i.e., within a few months, for it would be absurd for an ultimatum to expire after a few years—he is living in a fool's paradise. It should be obvious that no sensible man in the country can really believe in that kind of nonsense, but it is on nonsense such as this that the edifice of non-alignment stands.

The Jana Sangh critics of the Prime Minister betray the same schoolboy mentality as the Prime Minister himself and are like him only exploiting the tragic situation to win over the people to their side by sheer claptrap. The Jana Sangh President had one thing more to add in this connection. "An

appeal to the nation over this crucial issue would evoke a stupendous response from the people," he said, "Let the Prime Minister give the call and I am sure that the nation will respond to a man." I have a shrewd suspicion that the Jana Sangh President had at the back of his mind the very same lathis the Prime Minister referred to when he declared in Parliament that, if necessary, we shall drive the Chinese out with lathis. The reference to lathis was not absolutely uncalled for. For, under non-alignment, we shall soon have nothing left but lathis to drive the Chinese out. But if any one really believes that the Chinese, or any other people armed with modern weapons, can be driven out with the help of lathis, all that need be said is that he is qualifying for the lunatic asylum. The Prime Minister may give the call and the nation may respond to a man—which itself is very doubtful for it is difficult to believe that many people would be prepared to face the Chinese with lathis—and yet the Chinese may remain where they are—if they do not indeed choose to advance farther, for the sake of the brotherly feeling they have in their heart of hearts for Indians. This is what the Jana Sangh President calls "a firm, honourable and realistic China policy"—"the need of the hour!"

## PRIME MINISTER'S MYTH

Prime Minister Nehru has developed another myth—that we are a mighty nation. The truth is that we are a mythological nation and love nothing so much as myths. The myth of nonviolence backed by political double-crossing landed us on the division of the country. Now we have the myth of non-alignment, based on similar falsehoods. Non-violence we adopted because, according to Mahatma Gandhi, it was the mightiest force on earth. In defence of non-alignment we are told indirectly that we are a mighty nation. "Two mighty nations facing each other"—that is what the Prime Minister has been saying with reference to the present situation, "neither giving in." The not-giving-in of the nation which will, if necessary, fight with lathis, is only a piece of bravado which can deceive no sensible man.

Radically as one may differ from the Prime Minister, one must say in his defence that his untruths are indirect, as against the direct and straightforward untruths of his master, Gandhi. So we are a mighty nation, able to stand on our own legs and to rely on ourselves for the defence of the country even against a mighty power like China, which defied successfully the might of the United Nations in Korea for years—only, it must be added, minus the necessary arms and equipment, for lack of which we have to talk of fighting with lathis on the Himalayan heights even at the risk of appearing to be

brainless fools to all those who know what modern warfare is, or letting them conclude that we have no intention of fighting the Chinese at all.

Not to be outdone in such claptrap, a Jan Sangh organ says: "We are told not to say or do a thing about China because China is proud and powerful," and proceeds to ask, "Are France, Portugal and Pakistan also more powerful than India? Are we alone the dust of the earth?" The intelligentsia of the Jana Sangh and its policy-makers obviously do not know yet that France, Portugal and Pakistan are, each of them, more powerful than India. The European powers aside, had Pakistan been weaker than India, its territory would have been the first to be occupied by China—at least that part of it which the Chinese claim in their maps. Had Pakistan been weaker than India, the Government of India would not have looked on helplessly at the border violations by Pakistani troops but would have retaliated in a manner that would have taught Pakistan a valuable and fruitful lesson. All our talk of love and brotherliness and peace, and deprecation of talking from strength, did not prevent the massing of Indian troops on the Indo-Pakistan borders more than once after partition, when the Pakistan Army was ill-equipped and not fully organised. Prime Minister Nehru then was talking from positions of strength, in which he does not seem to believe with reference to the actions of the Western powers. Even those Pakistanis who are not in favour of alliance with the USA blame India for driving Pakistan into the arms of the USA. Who can say they are wrong? And yet it is Mr. Nehru, more than any one else, who condemns Pakistan's military alliance with the USA.

### "WE ARE A PUNY NATION"

That brings us to the main point—that Pakistan is stronger than India today. This for two reasons. She receives military aid from the USA free of cost, and she has a military alliance with the USA which makes the latter responsible for her defence against aggression, particularly from China and Russia. That, it may be added, is the only sensible policy to follow for weak nations who do not want to invite aggression.

We do not seem to realise that militarily we are not even a third-rate nation. China is not stronger than us because of the 600 or 700 million people inhabiting her land. She is stronger than us because she receives military aid free from Russia. It was that aid which made her withstand the United Nations in Korea. Above all, she is stronger than us because of her military alliance with Soviet Russia, which makes it plain that in any war with any country, Russia will be on the side of China. We Indians abhor both these means of getting stronger and are now indulging in cheap bravado to create the impression that we are not so weak as we really are. Whom are we trying to deceive? No one except ourselves. And the road to catastrophes is always paved with self-deception.

No one in India can claim to know the relative strength of various countries so well as Mr. Krishna Menon on account of his contacts in foreign countries. When the last general election campaign was on, somebody interrupted his speech in Bombay to ask him: Are you trying to form a third bloc? And Mr. Krishna Menon replied, "Who are we to form a third bloc? We are a puny nation." "Puny" was the word he used and he could not have used a better word. But claptrap prevents us all from acknowledging the solid fact, the fundamental fact about our country, which cries aloud for alignment with stronger powers. Call it national pride, if you like, but is it patriotic to play on the sentiment of national pride when the existence of the country itself is at stake? This is sheer treachery. It seems all parties are trying to carry the country with them and carry the country herself to her doom. That is what Gandhi did amidst popular acclaim. That is exactly what Nehru is doing today, again with popular acclaim. The Jana Sangh is doing the same but the Jana Sangh does not count. And we are all doing it out of sheer cussedness—over Kashmir—cutting our noses, as it were, to spite our faces. We are a mighty nation, indeed, of 400 million people, none of whom dare speak out the truth that is in his heart, forgetting that untruth is unrealistic and being unrealistic is inviting disaster.

We do not want foreign armies marching up and down the country, says the Prime Minister—not even, obviously, to save the country from subjugation by China. The Jana Sanghis go one better and declare: "It is better to die alone and fighting than to die disgracefully after the US GI has littered the land with his bastards and the USA has dwarfed our determination to defy death and dynamite our spirit for self-sacrifice." Those who cannot defy Prime Minister Nehru and declare the truth that is in them for fear of damaging their prospects, as well as those who cannot defy Guruji Golwalkar—the Nehru of Jana Sangh—for fear of losing their prospects in the party, talk of their determination to defy death and of their spirit of self-sacrifice! Can hypocrisy go farther?

And as for bastards, the idea of whose births is revolting to Jana Sanghis, it is perhaps not out of place to remind them that the power we are facing helplessly today makes no distinction between bastards and legitimates. One would have thought that the worshippers of Sita had more faith in their womanhood. Any and every excuse appears to be good enough to stand in the way of repelling the Chinese aggressors. At every crucial point the upholders of non-alignment—and even the Jana Sanghis are among them—are either beautifully vague or are wallowing in silly sentimentality at the cost of the defence of the country. Nothing amazes me more than the ease with which the country goes out of the picture in the discussion of problems relating to her security—no matter to what party the disputants belong.

*(Continued on page 9)*



# Policy of Negotiation - from Strength or Weakness

By Prof. G. P. Bhattacharjee

**T**HE Congress Government's policy towards the problem of the Chinese aggression appears to be weak, dogmatic and muddle-headed. In the recent Congress resolution on India's frontier it is said, "Aggression has taken place and parts of Indian territory have been occupied by the Chinese forces. . . . The Congress supports the stand taken by the Government and its policy of peace and the settlement of disputes by peaceful methods. This policy does not and cannot mean, as has been made clear by the Government, submission to aggression or to anything which challenges the integrity and horror of India. While every step should be taken to settle these problems through peaceful methods it has become incumbent that the country's defence organisation should be strengthened with speed."

An analysis of the above extract from the Congress resolution recently passed will clearly show the confused character of the Government policy towards the problem of the China aggression. The resolution admits that China has committed aggression and it declares that India would not submit to it. Very good. But the question is—how will India induce China to vacate the aggression? The Congress declares that it believes in peaceful methods. Peaceful methods is also good but to be effective, the peaceful method must follow from strength and not from weakness. The Congress has also no absolute faith in the efficiency of the peaceful methods because the Congress resolution recommends that "the country's defence organisation should be strengthened with speed." The Congress, therefore, feels the necessity of the armed strength and believes that to be effective, the peaceful methods must be backed by military strength. The emphasis on peaceful methods and the necessity of strengthening the defence organisation in the same resolution cannot be explained in any other

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Yet it has to be admitted that non-alignment has been our traditional policy through the ages, that the country's thousand-year old slavery was due to nothing else than non-alignment. The British Labour Party by thrusting freedom on us cut short our world record of national slavery and we are at it again with the blessings of all parties in the land.

Toofan se kya shikayat, darya se kya gila hai;  
Kashti chalane wale kashti dubo rahe hain.

(Why complain of the storm or the river? The rowers of the boat are themselves sinking the boat.)

way. The Chandigarh resolution of the Congress also considered it essential "to generate the capacity for effective resistance to any external threat to our security." In the Press Conference of November 5, 1959, Shri Nehru asked the nation to "trust in conciliatory policies but keep your powder dry." The Government therefore believes not simply in peaceful methods and non-violence but also in military force.

There is no denying the fact that so far as military strength is concerned, India is much weaker than China. Behind China, there is the whole military machine of the Communist world. Nobody takes the Prime Minister seriously when he says that India is strong enough to defend herself. As long as India cannot make herself militarily strong, the danger from the North would always remain. How to make India militarily strong—that is therefore the crux of the problem. It can be done in two ways. The first method is to employ our own resources for military purpose. This method is ineffective firstly, because it is a long-term programme, whereas the danger is imminent and secondly, because it would make any appreciable social and economic development of the country impossible for want of resources. The second method is to take military help from outside. The international situation is favourable for such a course. But the Nehru Government is adamantly against it. The arguments of Shri Nehru in this respect are not at all convincing.

In the Press Conference of November 5, 1959, Shri Nehru was asked whether he ruled out the question of obtaining foreign military assistance in all circumstances. His answer was, "I do believe firstly that the mentality of seeking assistance or looking for assistance is a bad, weakening mentality." In the recent Congress at Sadashirnagar when three members suggested that India should keep the door open for military alliances to meet the dangers on her northern frontiers, the Prime Minister flew into his usual rage and said, "Whatever the consequences, we will not have foreign armies on our soil. We have had enough of them in the past and we should learn from experience, if not from wisdom." In the same Congress, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon said, "The day we become part of a bloc, it will be the beginning of the end of our independence."

It is very difficult to find any sense in these arguments. If we can ask for economic assistance from other countries, what is wrong in asking for military

assistance? Military assistance is also a kind of economic assistance because that would enable us to employ our own resources for the social and economic development of our country. If the acceptance of economic aid can be supported, why should acceptance of military aid be a sign of "a bad, weakening mentality?" Mr. Nehru's and Mr. Krishna Menon's statements of history indicate that acceptance of military help from other countries would mean the end of our independence. The present condition of history is very much different from the past and in the present context a military alliance with the U.S.A. is not likely to touch our sovereignty in the least. Such a fear is born simply of an inferiority complex and is not supported by logic or experience. Mr. Nehru believed that China is the eternal friend of India. But he had to re-learn history at the cost of India's territory. Facts of history would perhaps force Nehru to change his opinion on military alliance also, but that may be too late. Our Prime Minister refuses to learn anything from rational arguments of others. The country has paid much and has to pay much greater in future for this dogmatic attitude of the Prime Minister.

Acceptance of military help from the U.S.A. may mean a deviation from the policy of non-alignment but if the cruel facts of history compel

us to deviate from that policy, we have to do it. India, we should not forget, has no eternal friends but has got her eternal interests and has to protect and safeguard her interests. It must follow a dynamic foreign policy without dogmatically adhering to the present one. India should enter into a military alliance with the U.S.A.

Communism is essentially incompatible with the Panch Shil ideal because Communism does not believe in co-existence with capitalism but in destroying it. This follows from the very nature of Communism and no amount of diplomacy can conceal it from us.

Policy of negotiation is certainly good but to be effective it must be conducted from a position of strength. The "Dulles Diplomacy" is the appropriate one to be applied to the Communist countries. The present improved—rather apparently improved—situation in the U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. relation is the outcome of that diplomacy. Let India also follow a policy of negotiation from a position of strength with Communist China. Short of war that is the only policy likely to be effective so far as the Communist countries are concerned. That would require a military pact with the U.S.A. and the prejudice against this pact may prove fatal to India's future.

## Russian Communists Are "Different"

By S. R. Mohan Das

**T**HE Chinese occupation of sizeable chunks of Indian territory has brought forth from Mr. Nehru certain by-product revelations of his attitude to communism and communists. Playing the role of an ideological mentor, Mr. Nehru has said that:

1. Chinese expansionism has nothing to do with communist character.
2. There is no such thing as international Communism acting as concerted international conspiracy with an international apparatus.
3. Different communists in different parts of the world act in different manners.
4. The Indian communists are the worst communists in the world as they are not patriotic like their Chinese or Russian counterparts.
5. As an example of his thesis, Soviet attitude had been "different" from the Chinese.

In this analysis of international communism, Mr. Nehru is supported by his aide, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

It is interesting to recall now that soon after the Chinese communists conquered the Chinese mainland with the help of massive arms of the crack Japanese armies in Manchuria handed over to them by Stalin,

Mr. Nehru took the view that Chinese communism was "different", more humane, tempered by Confucian thoughts and traditions, as against the aggressiveness of Stalinism then reigning supreme. Mao was different in 1950, according to Mr. Nehru and like most liberals at that time, Mr. Nehru held the view that the Chinese communists were "agrarian reformers."

Now the roles have been reversed. Mr. Khrushchev represents a more humane, more liberalized communism in the Soviet Union as against the aggressive Chinese expansionism.

This dichotomy between Chinese and Russian communism then and now, is interesting. The "humaneness" of the victorious Chinese communism in 1950 is very similar to the "humaneness" and "liberalness" of Soviet communism in 1959-60 in terms of similar victory in launching of sputniks and Luniks. Soviet Union now has no territorial ambitions, has achieved so much already and is settling down towards normalcy for greater prosperity and peace, says Mr. Nehru. In short, according to Mr. Nehru, the Soviet aggressive shrew has been tamed by getting mellowed through prosperity and achievement.

# The Indian Libertarian

## *Economic Supplement*

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### Prosperity, Or Bankruptcy?

By C. Rajagopalachari

**P**RIVATE initiative, management with personal interest, honest competition, these are the forces as well as the safeguards that produce prosperity. What is called the French miracle, the recovery of the franc, was described by the miracle-worker himself as the "natural triumph of honesty and commonsense." It is stupid, if not criminal, to spend more than one earns, holds M. Pinay, and this applies to individual as well as to nation.

A sound and stable currency is the best protection a government can give to its people, and this is true, says M. Pinay, for employers and workers alike. According to him, social security bought at the price of inflation is a delusion and a fraud.

Political freedom cannot survive unless sustained by economic freedom. This also is M. Pinay's conviction. How relevant all this is to Indian affairs!

The policy of the rulers here in India is social welfare through Socialism and deficit financing. "Deficit financing" is budget-jargon. It means nothing but inflation, the issue of printed paper to meet liabilities arising out of adventure. M. Pinay holds that Government controls should be reduced to the indispensable minimum—"something like traffic lights." This French Finance Minister does not mind being called an old-fashioned Liberal. He holds firmly that private initiative, integrity, hard work and thrift are not out-dated virtues. On the contrary, he maintains that these virtues should never be allowed to go out of fashion.

When Pinay took over responsibility, France was in a desperate condition. The franc had shrunk to one-twenty-fifth of its pre-war value. Pinay's first objective therefore was to balance the nation's budget. He cut expenditure instead of raising taxes. He issued a loan the repayments of which were pegged to gold, because he said it is dishonest to ask people to entrust their savings to Government to be repaid in depreciated currency. Again how

greatly relevant when considering Indian affairs!

"Inflation not only undermines the economic foundation of a nation, it weakens its political and social structure, even its morality", said M. Pinay and insisted on a balanced budget at the essential condition for a stable currency. Depreciated currency makes people lose their sense of reality, M. Pinay puts it as strongly as that.

We in India can draw lessons from three miracles, the miracle of West Germany, the miracle of France, and the miracle of Japan. Nations reduced to the dust, all three have not only recovered, but have prospered and are offering loans to India. How one wishes we borrowed their economic commonsense and not only their money. Their commonsense has enabled them to rehabilitate themselves after the ravages of war by discarding emotional temptations and delusions and shaping their economic policy according to natural laws. Private enterprise, competition and a free market policy gave them full value for hard work. But instead, we borrow from them huge sums to invest in Socialism, just what they discarded to regain life.

It is not deficit financing and regulations and controls and heavy taxation for raising capital to be put in enterprise to be managed by bureaucrats that will help us to rise. It is private enterprise, integrity and the principle of living within one's means that will help us to make progress. A special Congress of the Socialist Party of Germany adopted a programme from which it is clear that Europe rethinks its Socialism. "The free choice of consumer goods and services, free choice of a place to work, free initiative for employers, are decisive foundations and free competition is an important element of a free economic policy. Totalitarian control of the economy destroys freedom. The Social-Democratic Party therefore favours a free market, wherever free competition really exists. As

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# Public Expenditure & Underdeveloped Economy

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

**T**O achieve economic progress of our country our leaders are spending a huge amount of money borrowed from the foreign countries, but the progress achieved so far is not very encouraging and this is mainly due to the fact that proper theory of public expenditure has not been kept in view by the Planning authority. In the Second Five Year Plan a greater emphasis has been placed on the development of heavy industries and this has resulted in the scarcity of consumer goods and rise in price level. The theory of public expenditure in the final analysis is the theory of public investment. Such a theory should give indications of the ways in which the economic development of the country is accelerated. On the other hand we find that due to public investment economic growth of the economy has been greatly arrested and this is mainly due to the fact that priorities on which the public expenditure should be based are not realistic. As a matter of fact, the theory of public expenditure should become an active instrument for the economic development of the country and in view of scarce resources of an underdeveloped economy, the theory of public expenditure shall have to lay down the order of priorities in a scientific manner, but unfortunately our Planning Commission has not thought over this vital problem and the results are quite visible in our country.

An underdeveloped country has to face the main problem of investment versus consumption and both of them are conflicting objectives in themselves. An increased investment means that there will be less for consumption. Now our underdeveloped country which has embarked upon planned economic development on the basis of socialistic pattern of society cannot restrict consumption as a large majority of people live on the margin of subsistence. To restrict consumption still further is to decrease their efficiency which is detrimental from the point of cost of production. Due to rise in price level the consumption standards of masses have been greatly curtailed but the consumption of richer classes have gone up. So it is the consumption of the richer classes that has to be curtailed. In other words the consumption of luxuries should be curtailed.

The development expenditure in an underdeveloped country should be mainly governed by the objectives that it has kept before itself. The main objectives of an underdeveloped country are agrarian reconstruction, rapid industrialisation, full employment, maximum production and equal distribution. To achieve these objectives public expenditure must be so planned that the objectives are achieved in the shortest period without causing social injustice.

In an underdeveloped country agriculture should receive first priority because without proper agricultural development, all talk of industrial development is a mere mockery. As a matter of fact agricultural revolution always precedes the industrial revolution. Agriculture provides the basis for industrial expansion. Agriculture not only provides raw materials but also supplies food grains which are scarce in underdeveloped country due to increase in population. In the Second Five Year Plan agriculture has been neglected and undue emphasis has been placed on the development of heavy industries and this is the fundamental flaw in the public investment. The expenditure on agriculture should be in the form of minor irrigation projects which give quick results and reclamation of marshy lands. It is estimated that about 40% of our lands is lying unused and if this is brought under plough, it will be possible to increase our food supply which is the basic problem at present in our country. These minor projects will not require large amount of capital as it is essential in heavy industries. An underdeveloped country at the initial stages of development should concentrate as far as possible on labour intensive industries. These industries would not only increase the total supply of consumer goods but they will also give large volume of employment to those who are unemployed for the major part of the year or to those who are underemployed. Unemployment is the second important problem that our government has to face. In spite of eight years of planning our planners have not succeeded in solving this basic problem, but it is estimated that the Third Five Year Plan will begin with a backlog of 21 million of unemployed people. From this one can easily conclude that our planning has failed to solve the fundamental problem of unemployment, even though one of the objectives of our Second Five Year Plan is to achieve full employment. This is because of the communistic methods adopted to achieve economic development of the country.

To achieve the liquidation of growing unemployment greater emphasis should be placed on the development of small scale industries. These industries can increase the volume of consumer goods which is essential not only for the satisfaction of pent up demand of the consumers, but also to fight against the inflation which is in vogue in our country for the last fifteen years. These industries are so vital in the initial stages of development that they can be expanded and developed even at the cost of factory industries. But it should be remembered here that they should be organised on modern lines, using power and the latest type of technique relevant to them and not on the basis of old and

outdated machinery. The days of Amber Charka are gone with automation. We live in an age of automation and care should be taken that we do not lag behind of other advanced countries.

Along with the development of small scale industries priority should be given to social services like health, education and housing because all these would not only enthuse the working population but they would also assure an increasing supply of healthy and skilled workers to carry out the development programme. Expenditure on social services is also essential because it would lead to equitable distribution of wealth of the country. In urban areas housing has become a serious problem and this has been aggravated by the imposition of Rent Control Act. This Act is the main hurdle in the path of agricultural development. Its abolition is imperative as it has caused overcrowding in urban areas and neglect of agriculture in villages.

Expenditure on the development of heavy industries should come at a later stage but our Planning Authorities has kept the cart before the horse by trying to develop heavy industries at the cost of agriculture and social services. Due to this, development of our economy is going at a snail's speed, and so far we have not achieved self sustained growth.

So, at the initial stage of development agriculture should be given first priority because any indifference on the part of Planning Commission to its needs will lead the country into serious difficulties with the continuous increase in population growth. Along with the agriculture attention should be paid to expand the social services as they will lead to an increase in efficiency of labour which will result in greater productivity in the long run. These social services will also lead to equitable distribution of wealth. It is only after the development of agriculture and social services that expenditure on heavy industries can be emphasised, because the development of these industries would help in laying down the foundations of the industrial structure and also the development of agriculture. After this stage, the economy will have become sufficiently developed and achieved a self sustained growth. But the Planning Commission should remember that it should not go beyond the limits of the resources available. In the words of Prof. Lewis "It is foolish to plan for more investment than the available physical resources will permit". At present our Planning Commission has initiated so many investment projects simultaneously that the resources of certain basic commodities have become scarce with the result that their prices have grown up and these have arrested the economic growth. It is essential that the Planning Authority should meet the development expenditure as far as possible from the budget surpluses in order to avoid inflation but strangely

enough Planning Authority in our country has resorted to deficit financing to the tune of 1200 crores of rupees in the Second Five Year Plan which has resulted in inflation.

The underdeveloped economies are characterised by low savings, low productivity, low investment and low rate of capital formation, but all these form a vicious circle. This circle has to be broken at some point. To achieve that objective it is necessary that there should be well planned and well directed expenditure programme with efficient administrative machinery. To set the economy in motion or to remove it from static conditions, it is necessary that Government should step in with its vast resources but care should be taken that Government activities should not supplant the activities of private enterprise. Government can supplement the activities of private enterprise in only those activities which cannot be undertaken by the private enterprise. One must say with regret that this fundamental principle has not been kept in view by our Planning Authority and the public sector is allowed to extend its tentacles far and wide. As a consequence of this the role that is permitted to the private enterprise to play is limited. "If government should use resources which otherwise could be used in the private economy, then there should be a proper guiding principle of public expenditure. The private economy tries to equalise the value of marginal products of a resource in each of its alternative uses in order to maximise the size of the total product. If government utilises resources, depriving the private sector, the principle of equi-marginal returns should be applied between the private sector and public sector in order to utilise resources in an optimum manner. In other words, equi-marginal returns will be applied not only in private and public sectors separately, but also between private and public sector so that total resources of the country can be fully used. This is important because here is a limit to the extent to which Government can take upon itself the resource using activity from private sector. Public economy though important should not be allowed to function in an extra-vagant manner. Proper allocation of resources should be one of the main criteria of public economy." In the execution of Second Five Year Plan there is a large mix up of principles which are appropriate to the advanced countries.

Public expenditure in a developing country should be based on productivity criterion and that alone will enable us to achieve a smooth and speedy economic growth. It is hoped that the Planning authority will evolve a proper policy of public expenditure in the Third Five Year Plan, so that our economy may achieve self-sustained growth within a short time.

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much competition as possible—as much planning as necessary.” This then is the language of even Socialists where the Erhard miracle has made people re-think things over, where they want freedom and justice not as words only as reality, and where they do not wish any one to exploit the conflicts of society to establish the dictatorship of a party.

After successive straight election defeats each time by a bigger margin, the Labour Party of Britain has concluded that it should not advocate any further nationalisation. The British Liberal leader Mr. Grimond said that there might be some hope for Labour parties only if they got rid of the albatross of nationalisation hanging round their necks.” The Government should resist the temptation of seeking to build up popularity for the ruling party by printing money to meet their adventures which results in the depreciation of the currency and the shooting up of prices. The Government should cut down expenditure and not raise money through indirect taxes that will hide themselves in the rising prices, and still further depress the common man's standard of living.

One of the most significant measures taken by M. Pinay to cut down expenditure was the suppression of many of the innumerable government subsidies to agriculture and industry. Our Government on the other hand, is planning for fantastic subsidies to induce the peasantry to accept its fad of “voluntary” collectivisation. All these subsidies serve to keep government expenditure up and thereby to express the rupee and make the fulfilment of obligations, private and public, a gross unreality. The party in power and in possession of the public exchequer and the Mint can buy votes by subsidies and grants but these when paid out by deficit financing destroy the foundation of security and prosperity, viz., a stable currency. Our drive towards social justice should not involve the sacrifice of liberty. We must achieve the one without sacrificing the other. The Congress Party is committing just this mistake in its mad career. The Swatantra Party's emergence may halt this even before the next elections.

It is usually thought, specially by Liberals visiting India from Western countries, that such sound principles of polity may not be understood or obtain favour in India where ignorance and poverty hold universal sway and therefore Socialist promises may easily allure. The Constitution has given universal adult suffrage and it may be that our people are largely illiterate and poor. But I believe they have wisdom to perceive the hollowness of Socialist promises and the futility of wild-cat schemes. The greatest difficulty however for poverty-stricken voters is corruption. They may see the hollowness of promises but they may not resist the temptation of immediate bribes. It is here that a party which cannot command the government exchequer and the power that a regimented economy gives to the offi-

cial party, finds the greatest obstacle. But this is a question of morality and there is no surrendering to it. It must be fought out until the people one day realise what they do for themselves when they cast votes for immediate temptations. It is here that the handicap lies for a people used for generations to undemocratic forms of government. It is not illiteracy that is the handicap and literacy will not remove it. It is the want of realisation of the consequences of dropping a piece of paper in the ballot box and this can be cured only by gaining experience, and going through the suffering that follows wrong voting. We must not be deterred by difficulties but prayerfully educate the voters against falling into the traps laid for them.

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## What is Free Enterprise ?

By K. S. Wood

Free enterprises are the things free people undertake to do—as individuals or in groups.

Before a free enterprise can be undertaken, certain basic human rights must exist and be protected. The most fundamental of these is the human right to the fruits of one's human labour—private property.

This right should exist with as few restrictions as possible; there should be freedom from excessive regulation, excessive taxation and from expropriation by government—and the government should be so ordered that these desirable conditions can be depended upon to exist over a long period of time.

From the well springs of private property and the free enterprises which it supports spring forth all the ingenuous and benevolent undertakings with which our country is so generously blessed.

Individuals in whatever kind of free enterprise they find themselves should help those in other kinds defend the freedoms which make their undertakings possible.

A free enterprise need not be for profit to its owners (though such an organization is one of the finest examples of free enterprise). The purpose can be anything its owners choose for a purpose—except the destruction of, or infringement on, the freedoms upon which the lives of all free enterprises depend.

Free enterprise is as means used by free people to provide for their wants and their needs—the only means which has demonstrated its ability to provide these things abundantly. Its endless variety is simply a measure of how uncommon a man can be.

Has Chinese expansionism nothing to do with communism? Is there no such thing as International Communism? Are the Indian communists different from other communists? And has the Soviet approach to international questions different from the Chinese?

These are some questions which are worth analysis.

If Chinese expansionism was essentially Chinese in character and not communist, there has been no expansionist tendencies shown by China towards north, towards its former Mongolian territories grabbed by the Soviet Union. "Chinese" expansionism seems to be exclusively directed only towards non-communist territories and China's record in the Korean War, Viet Nam, Burma, Tibet, India and Indonesia is eloquent testimony to this. Secondly, China has restrained its expansionism towards countries having even symbolic ties with military aid arrangements under pacts. In fact Mr. Nehru gave an unconscious acknowledgement of the significance of this when he sadly commented in Parliament that wherever India had been alert in guarding her frontiers like in U. P., Himachal Pradesh and NEFA, Chinese incursions have been negligible. Only in Ladakh where we were complacent and not alert have there been large-scale incursions by the Chinese. The simple moral involved in this has been lost on Mr. Nehru. Whichever country was alert about protecting itself from Chinese threat, China has not dared to undertake adventures against it. In Thailand, South Viet Nam, Malaya or Pakistan, China has not been tempted to embark on adventures. Towards Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos and the "giant" India, all of whom have been genuinely sympathetic to "New China", China has shown the bayonets. Mr. Krishna Menon was in fact rather offended about this. He said in the U.N. "China can kick her heels about, but not against those who have been friendly to her, championing her rights."

Mr. Menon seemed to be wishing that China would tackle Formosa, Thailand, South Viet Nam and Malaya to teach them a lesson for having such a strong vested interest to survive, if necessary, even through alignment with their friends.

Now in the hour of crisis with China, Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon have sold the Indian people the line that the Soviet Union is India's friend, that the Soviet Union does not support China in her aggression against India. Here too the actual record is much more enlightening than the reassuring straws which Mr. Nehru catches in this hour of crisis.

The Soviet Union has not only not supported India, not only not disapproved of China's action but in typical communist double-talk supported China against India. The incident at the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee at Cairo is revealing. Mr. H. D. Malaviya, one of the Secretaries, wanted to send a cable of congratulations, as per the resolution of the committee, to Mr. Khrushchev for his statement calling for a "peaceful settlement" of the pre-

sent Sino-Indian disputes: The Russian Secretary of the Committee prevented Mr. Malaviya, a close colleague of the Indian communists, from sending even this cable on the grounds that the Chinese would not approve of this action!

Similarly, the official Soviet delegate to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Warsaw upheld the Chinese claims to Indian territory and charged India was wrong in the dispute.

The Tass official release on Soviet attitude to China dispute, which Mr. Nehru described in a Press Conference as an "objective and fair" document, was a very revealing document. In its first three paragraphs, it was a severe indictment of the Western powers for "exploiting the present Sino-Indian dispute." In the last paragraph, the statement distinguishes between the unbreakable bonds of friendship with Communist China" and the "growing friendship with the Indian Government and people" and then hopes for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. This was the "objective and fair" attitude of the Soviet Union which Mr. Nehru hailed.

The latest statement reported to have been made by Mr. Khrushchev to the Indian pro-communist writer Mr. Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, reiterates the same Soviet theme of 'unbreakable brotherly relations with Red China' and 'growing friendship with India.' The Soviets have made it clear to Mr. Nehru that he must deserv this 'growing friendship' by peaceful negotiations with China, a condition which Mr. Nehru, in any case, has already decided upon on his own.

This is the 'difference' in the Soviet communist character. In reality, as the former Soviet Intelligence Agent, M. Alexander Yurievich Kaznachepev, who defected from the Soviet Embassy in Rangoon last year, has revealed, the Soviet Union continues to function in its traditional ways of subverting non-communist countries in close co-ordination with the Chinese, whether such countries are "aligned" or "non-aligned". The spate of Soviet delegations from the Soviet Union descending on India contains trained intelligence agents whose task is to soften up the will to resist planned future onslaughts, direct and indirect, of international communism against India. In this task, internal agents in India have an important role to play. The Soviets and Chinese communists must be laughing in their sleeves at Mr. Nehru's naivety when he says: "Indian communists are the worst communists in the world." The Chinese communists behaved in the same way as Indian comrades, when they functioned under Dr. Sun Yat Sen's regime and Chiang's regime. Quite logically Indian communists function in the same way in Mr. Nehru's regime. Their "patriotism" will come to the fore should comrade Ranadive or Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad become the "People's Commissars"!

—Freedom First.

February 15, 1960

## Who are the Patriots?

(From Our Correspondent)

**T**HE victory of the Congress-PSP-League Alliance in Kerala is not so convincing as it appears from the number of candidates returned party-wise. The Communists have polled the largest number of votes—2,975,259 against the 2,791,294 polled by the Congress—though the Congress won 63 seats against 26 of the Communists. There was a lamentable cry against the inclusion of the Muslim League in the democratic Alliance among a section of Hindu communalists who do not seem to realise the change in the pattern of the political situation in the country brought about by the Chinese aggression. Independents apart—they are law unto themselves—it is regrettable that the Lohia Socialists, the Jana Sangh and the Revolutionary Socialist Party could not see the wisdom of either joining the Alliance or of refraining from contesting the elections to leave the Communists to a straight fight with the democratic forces. The former two could not even win a seat, showing that they were banking on their nuisance value in throwing a spanner in the machinery of the Alliance by providing triangular contests and thus promoting the chances of Communists winning in the constituencies those parties contested.

### REVIVAL OF MUSLIM LEAGUE

Any one who does not realise who our main enemy is today, or feels that it is the same old Muslim League, is a Rip Van Winkle who deserves to be driven out of politics. Whatever the reasons may be for the change in the mentality of the Muslims of India—and it may be frankly admitted that the main reason is the fear of being swamped by communists if they do not join forces with the Hindus—we have to realise that the change is genuine, based as it is on the desire for self-preservation—the greatest of all driving forces. Since it is permissible to doubt that this desire is equally strong among Hindus, the fact emerges that the average Muslim of India is emerging as a greater patriot than the average Hindu.

This may appear to be a startling proposition to many, but to adapt oneself to a changing situation by ridding oneself of wornout prejudices—rather than flogging a dead horse—is the hall-mark of patriotism and statesmanship. Kerala is a pattern which may have to be largely followed in other stages also in the near future, and it is high time, therefore, for us to realise that the battle has begun between foreign stooges and patriots, and among the latter have to be counted the Muslims of India whose patriotism we had good reasons to suspect

during British rule. It was their fanaticism which made them suspect in the past and it is their fanaticism which is transforming them into patriots today. Verily, the whirligig of time brings its own revenges. The need today, as always, is that we should realise who our main enemy is. That realisation has to be burnt into our minds. Those who forget to do so—and many are apt to forget—cannot call themselves sensible people or persons endowed with political sense. Even if the patriotism of Muslims is foreign-inspired, it is any day far better than treachery foreign-inspired. We have, therefore, nothing to fear from a revival of the Muslim League. Another good result likely to follow from a revival of the Muslim League would be the loss to the Congress of the solid Muslim vote on which Congress leaders have been banking against the rightist parties. That may indeed make all the difference between Congress victory and defeat in the general elections in the very near future.

### RUSSIAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO INDIA

Friendship demands frankness and avoidance of diplomatic poses, particularly if it is to be "inviolable," as affirmed by the Russian President with reference to India. Our respect for the Russian President, who is our guest these days, cannot make us swallow whatever he says. That would be undemocratic and, since our constitution is democratic, also unconstitutional for us Indians.

Declaring that the friendship between India and the Soviet Union is "inviolable," President Voroshilov said on setting foot on the Indian soil that it was based on "complete equality and mutual respect and non-interference in each other's affairs." There is hardly any leader of any party in the country who is prepared to believe that Soviet Russia has not been interfering in Indian affairs through the Communist Party of India. The visits of Indian Communist leaders to Soviet Russia, whenever any problem of outstanding importance presents itself, have been so frequent that no denial in this regard on the part of the Soviet Government or their most obedient servants, the Indian Communists, can carry any weight with any sensible man in India. The Communists themselves make no secret of the fact that they receive guidance from the top leaders of the USSR or that it is that guidance that tilts the balance in any dispute regarding what policy they should follow, and makes for agreement in the party.

At any rate, it is known to every one in India, and should be known to Soviet Russian leaders, that



it is commonly believed by the rank and file in India that the Communists of India dance to the tune of Moscow. That being the case—and no one can deny the existence of the belief on an almost universal scale—what should have been the attitude of Soviet Russia towards the frequent visits of top Indian Communist leader to that country, at least since India gained her independence in 1957, particularly if Soviet Russia wanted to be on the friendliest terms with India? Obviously—and this again admits of no doubt whatsoever—the Russian Government should have frankly told the Indian Communist leaders: "Look here. The days of colonialism are gone in India. Yours is now a free country and we want to be friends with your country. Your frequent visits to our country are likely to lead to misunderstanding between India and ourselves. There should be, there can be no room for suspicion among friends, because suspicion is fatal to friendship. Your visits are likely to generate that suspicion. Therefore you should understand once for all that you are most unwelcome here. Use the sense that God has given you in the service of your country and do not look to foreigners for guidance. Good-bye and God bless you!"

But, instead, what do we find? We find that the visits of Indian Communist leaders to Russia became more and more frequent after India gained her independence because of the passport facilities which were absent under British rule. How then can it be said that the friendship between India and the Soviet Union is "inviolable," or that it is based on "complete equality and mutual respect and non-interference in each other's affairs?" One of the main reasons for the existence of the iron curtain advanced by Russian Communists is that, were the restrictions on visits to and travel or residence in Soviet Russia removed, the Capitalists would take advantage of the removal and corrupt the minds of Russians with their money-bags. We Indians have a legitimate grievance against Soviet Russia on the same score—for doing things in India which she guards against in her own land. In fine, the complaint is against the international character of communism, but our foreign policy has reduced us to such straits and such dependence on Soviet Russia that, far from complaining against Russian interference in our affairs and Russian subsidizing of a political party in India, we have to deny the very existence of international communism. Mr. Nehru did so again only the other day! *O tempora, O mores!*

### SOLUTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS

Far, therefore, from Indo-Russian friendship proving that "countries with different social and economic systems could cooperate with each other," as the Russian President says, it only proves that Russian friendship demands and expects a price—a price which no nation that wants to retain its independence can possibly willingly pay. (Can it be honestly said that we are not paying that price?) Countries with different social and eco-

nomie systems aside, recent Russo-Yugoslav relations prove that even countries with the same social and economic systems cannot cooperate with Soviet Russia on equal terms.

President Voroshilov proceeded to observe "the Soviet Union firmly believes that all controversial issues of international relations can and must be solved by peaceful means only." If that is indeed so, the Soviet Union has no business to be "neutral," as has been alleged in pro-Soviet quarters, between India and China. The despatch of troops to areas belonging to other countries can by no stretch of imagination come within peaceful means. It is possible to argue that Ladakh was conquered by the sword a hundred years ago by an Indian king and has been a sort of a colony of an Indian state for a century—just as Chinese warlords conquered and subjugated neighbouring territories, including Tibet, from time to time. But even that assumption does not, according to the firm belief of the Soviet Union as enunciated by President Voroshilov entitle China to send her troops to occupy areas claimed by her.

What is the value, it is being asked here, of firm belief in solution of problems by peaceful means if those who believe in solution of problems by force are not to be condemned? The absence of condemnation in such cases is tantamount to renunciation of the firm belief which President Voroshilov credited to Soviet Russia. There is a Persian proverb which says, silence is half consent. It cannot unfortunately be denied that the proverb applies equally well to the Indian Government's silence on incursions in Ladakh for five years, and Soviet Russia can say with a good deal of plausibility that she cannot be expected to be more loyal to India than her own Prime Minister, and has even to take the cue from him, but the solid fact remains that use of force has not been in this instance condemned by Soviet Russia, as it should have been, and as it has been—consistently—condemned by the United States. There is no power in the world which has condemned the use of force for the solution of international problems as consistently as the United States.

### INDIA AND NEPAL

In a joint communique issued here on January 28 last, the Governments of India and Nepal have re-affirmed that "India and Nepal have a vital interests in each other's freedom, integrity, security and progress," and their Prime Ministers have therefore agreed to maintain close consultations in matters of common interest. If the two Governments are sincere in the use of the word "vital", they should know they have aligned themselves. The Government of Nepal is anxious not to embroil itself in the Indo-Chinese dispute. It is to help it to remain neutral for the time being that the Chinese have not made any deliberate incursions on the Nepal Government, knowing as the latter does the helplessness of the Indian Government in the matter of the

Chinese aggression, irrespective of whether the helplessness is of its own creation or is born of cussedness or cowardice. Ahmed, the *Hindustan Times* cartoonist has come out with a brilliant cartoon on the subject. Mr. Nehru, mimicking the pose of a boxer, with his face bandaged with Ladakh and NEFA, tells big bully Chou En-lai: "Touch my little brother, you big bully, and see what I do to you!" (Little brother Nepal is standing behind Mr. Nehru.)

## Book Reviews

**DANGER FROM COMMUNIST CHINA** By A. D. Gorwala: Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1959, pages 75. Price Rs. 1-50.

Since the war with Hitler and Japan and the advent of Indian independence, events are changing fast. But the general pattern remains essentially the same, namely the emergence of the danger from Communist Russia to the free world. After the absorption of Czechoslovakia into the communist world in 1948 and the emergence of Red China as the triumphant successor of Chiang-kai-sek's Kuo-mintang on the mainland, the new horizon before international communism has spelt imminent peril to the freedom and progress of the free world headed by the USA.

It is the misfortune of our country that in this dangerous period, it has been saddled by Mr. Nehru's leadership, for he has shown himself as an enthusiast for communism as a recipe of progress barring its unfortunate violence. He has systematically sided with the Iron Curtain countries and has made the communist party of India respectable among the intelligentsia.

Mr. Gorwala is one of the very few publicists who have a clear grasp of the true nature of communism as an armed doctrine and as a world force at the disposal of Russian diplomacy and now at the disposal of Red China as well.

In this volume we have a reprint of 14 essays that he published in various newspapers and journals during the last 8 years warning the country of the danger from Communist China and the fateful inadequacy of Indian policies in regard to it. We have here a continuous story of the radical misunderstanding displayed by the Indian Government under Nehru of the true nature of Red China and its danger to India. The story begins from the inauguration of New China in 1949, of the rape of Tibet by it soon after, the beguiling of India by the suave diplomacy of Chou Enlai, the Tibetan revolt and its suppression by Red China and the annexation of large chunks of Indian territory in Ladakh, of the attack on our outpost in Longju in NEFA and the catastrophic failure of Indian policy to contain China and to save the Tibetan buffer state. The sinister role of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon

in soft-peddling Chinese aggression is also made clear.

The booklet should open the eyes of the public to the complete error and tragedy of Indian policy that still trusts the communist bloc and refuses to take aid from the western world in time. The danger is imminent yet and a perusal of the case for a more realistic policy and alliance with the free world without much loss of time (depicted clearly and persuasively in this collection of essays by Mr. Gorwala) will serve to awaken the public to the need for a swift and radical change of policy. This is essential reading to all, especially to journalists who are apt to follow the fellow travellers without examination.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

**POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING IN INDIA** by C. B. Mamoria. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, Price Rs. 3.75. Foreign \$1.00 or 6sh)

At present India's population is increasing at a faster rate and it is estimated that it increases at a rate of 5 millions per annum. Uncontrolled procreation involves a serious problem as it is bound to throw overboard all our economic planning and political schemes. Dr. Mamoria has analysed this serious problem in this book under review and in the first two chapters he has discussed the population problem and according to him "the problem of rapid growth can be tackled by rationalising not only production but also distribution." He has suggested eight measures to check the population, but he is doubtful of the efficacy of them and hence according to him the only alternative is to limit the size of the family, by means of birth control or family planning. The basic idea behind family planning is that parents should get children by choice and not by chances. Family planning really speaking is planning of family by the family for the family. Dr. Mamoria has analysed various methods of birth control which can be adopted by our people, but at the same time he is conscious of the difficulties that one has to encounter to make family planning a success in our country.

According to Dr. Mamoria family planning is necessary, because it is a means of spacing pregnancies and safeguarding the health of mothers thereby enabling every husband to discharge his duty to his wife. It is also a means of limiting the size of the family, thereby enabling every married couple to discharge their duties to their children. Secondly it is a means to promote national welfare and assure the success of national planning. Thus family planning will enable a married couple to discharge their duty to the nation. In spite of its importance, the low standard of living, ignorance and illiteracy of men and women, lack of privacy due to over-crowding in towns, and lack of housing facilities which is essential to the unobstructive use of contraceptives, lack of cleanliness, bathrooms and running water, absence of any organisation, social

or administrative which can be used to propagate the ideas and instruments of birth control, the difficulties of taking the message of birth control to villages, and the costliness of the available contraceptives are some of the most important obstacles to the wide use and spread of birth control appliances in this country. Dr. Mamoria has described these difficulties at length and he has suggested that these difficulties can be removed by raising the standard of living of the masses by removing the imbalance between agriculture and industry, by providing alternative sources of employment; by providing cheaper, harmless and reliable and acceptable contraceptives. According to him all these contraceptives should be supplied free of cost by the Government Hospitals, Maternity and Child Welfare Centres, Clinics and Municipalities. He is of the opinion that opening of clinics throughout the length and breadth of the country would help a great deal towards the solution of this urgent problem.

He has also suggested the methods to be adopted by men and women. He has suggested that husbands should use condom and interruptus coitus and women should use mechanical devices like vault caps, cervical caps or dutch caps, use of sponges or cotton pads soaked in some antiseptic lotions or use of jelly, ointment, soluble powder, foam producing tablets or douching after intercourse or biological devices like having coitus during the safe period or rhythm, oral contraception or observing abstinence and practising abortion. The other method is sterilization. Of all these methods he suggests the use of condom and some sort of chemical substances.

Dr. Mamoria has rendered a great service in writing this book in simple language. This book, as a matter of fact, should be translated in all regional languages so that people may derive the advantage. It will also help to propagate these ideas among the masses especially middle class and lower class people to whom family planning is most urgent. It is they who suffer most from uncontrolled procreation.

—G. N. Lawande

## News Digest

### THE DIPLOMATIC POUCH

Tripoli: Behind the recent demotion of Algerian rebel leaders who had been friendly with Peking: The FLN, after sending a mission to Red China last April, had expected to receive some \$75 million in military aid. Instead, the rebels were only offered a loan of \$10 million to buy weapons from the Chinese Communists. And the weapons turned out to be old American arms captured by the Chinese during the Korean war.

### BEHIND THE BAMBOO CURTAIN

East Berlin: A Chinese A-bomb this year is the prediction of a ranking Peking diplomat here. He says a small bomb will be tested by the year end in the Gobi Desert. Note: French and British officials in a position to know are inclined to believe it.

Vienna: Communist envoy in satellite capitals hear Mao Tse-Tung may soon assume the title of Prime Minister. Chou En-lai would step down to his former job of Foreign Minister. The move would put Mao, who now holds no government job, in a position to sit in personally on any high-level international conference to which Red China was invited.

### EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF POPULATION

Dr. S. Chandrasekhar a noted demographer speaking at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan said that it would not be possible to provide the basic necessities of life to the people in India unless population was controlled. Stating that there was a limit to the development of agriculture he urged the necessity of undertaking simultaneously measures for controlling the growth of population.

Dr. Chandrasekhar said that the pressure of population had a direct bearing on the solution of world problems. With a steep increase in population, nations began to demand space from their neighbours. It had happened before and is happening now as in the case of China, he warned.

### CONGRESS MUST BE DISPLACED SWATANTRA PARTY LEADERS CALL

Bangalore: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, leader of the Swatantra Party, told a public meeting here that Swaraj has now to be gained by the people from the Congress which has inherited autocratic authority from the British. He said that individual freedom should not be forgotten in a race to achieve social welfare. The leader charged the Congress with trying to get total authority to itself under the pretext of pursuing socialism. But socialism would not increase production. It would only destroy individual freedom. He added that "democratic socialism" was a contradiction in terms. The

### ATTENTION

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Swatantra Partp stood for social welfare but not for socialism he explained.

### WHO PAYS?

Mahabir Tyagi has said that the Bangalore jamboree of the Congress rulers of the country will cost over Rs. 20 lakhs. Twenty lakhs will be spent by the Congress and it is really a small fraction of the total cost. The bulk of the cost of these Fields of Cloth of Gold is borne by the Central Government and the State Government concerned. Laying out of miles of road in all directions, constructing railway siding, station and a branch line, laying pipe lines for drinking water supply, sanitation, postal, telegraphic and telephonic arrangements, supply, of electricity from a long distance—all these cost big money and these are paid by the grateful subjects.

### SHAMING THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Our Welfare (of the rulers) State speaks sneeringly about private enterprise—because the latter works for profit motive. The state can certainly look down on the private sector as the State-run industries all work with a loss motive. Among the industries in the Public sector, the State-owned and State managed Giridih Collieries have very successfully achieved its main objective—losing the taxpayers' money. So far the Giridih Collieries have realized a total loss of Rs. 5,60,00,000, a petty sum when written besides Rs. 10,00,00,00,000, the amount we are going to spend in the third period. However, giving more time to "work", the Giridih

Collieries may produce substantially greater figures of loss than the meagre 650 lakhs.

### LET CORRUPTION FLOURISH

Mr. Nehru has dismissed as "unworkable" Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's suggestion for the establishment of a tribunal to investigate corruption among "men in authority." The Special Police Establishment, on which he has relied, has yet to open its account by bringing to book even one "man in authority."

If the setting up of such a tribunal does not violate any democratic principle, and is suited in the case of business men, why should it be otherwise if "men in authority" are involved?

There may be two reasons for Mr. Nehru's summary rejection of a very sensible proposal. Either (1) Mr. Nehru has attained such a spiritual height that he follows the principle of "See no evil, Speak no evil, Hear no evil" or (2) he knows full well that if Mr. Deshmukh's suggestions were to be carried out, so many Congress Ministers will have to go out that governments in States would be impossible. So, as a practical politician he would allow corruption in high places to continue in order to have a stable administration.

### HIGH LEVEL OF TAXATION

#### PROF. RANGA'S VIEWS

Mysore: The Chairman of the Swatantra Party, Prof. N. G. Ranga, gave the people a categorical assurance here that his party, if elected to power, would not impose any new taxes but try to reduce the high level of existing taxation.

Addressing a public meeting here, Mr. Ranga said that the party would curtail civil expenditure, prune the cost of administration and arrest the establishment of new departments.

The Swatantra Party leader said that the Congress had made India a nation of beggars by pursuing "negative policies." On the other hand, he said, the Swatantra Party would encourage private enterprise to establish an increasing number of small, medium and large industries.

Mr. Ranga suggested that India should form a "front of South Asian countries." including Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and Indo-China.

### DON'T MULTIPLY PLEASE

During the Second Five Year Plan to be launched in 1960, Pakistan will spend Rs. 10 crores on family planning, according to Lieut-Gen. W. A. Burki, Central Minister of Health and Welfare.

In India an expenditure of Rs. 100 crores has been recommended by the Central Planning Board to keep the population growth in check during the Third Plan period.

The Ford Foundation has made a grant of Rs. 1476,000 towards the cost of a new programme

## THE CHALLENGE OF ASIA

By RALPH BORSODI

Is the world being gradually lost to Communism? What is the West doing to defend the young and independent nations of Asia against the onslaught of Communism? Are the leaders of Asia prepared to accept the leadership which is passing from the West to the East? These are some of the questions posed by the author who has visited Thailand, India, Burma and other Asian countries and has summed up his impressions in "The Challenge of Asia" which is a frank analysis of the political trends in Asia.

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introduced by the Union Ministry of Health aimed to educate the people of India about family planning.

But the reactionary Jan Sangh-Catholic axis in India is determined to sabotage every programme aimed at population control.

### KHRUSHCHEV ANNOUNCES A 'FANTASTIC WEAPON'

In his address to the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Khrushchev asserted that the troop reduction will in no way reduce the fire-power of our armed force." What is more:

"The weapon we have today in the hatching stage is even more formidable (It) is a fantastic weapon.

This remark produced wide-spread speculation in the West about what the fantastic new weapon might be—but no authoritative Westerner ventured a public estimate.

Westerners saw two leading propaganda objectives in Mr. Khrushchev's military remarks. One lay in his troop cut announcement, in which he evidently sought to bring pressure on the West by saying, in effect: "We are doing something concrete about disarmament. What about you?" The other lay in his emphasis on Soviet Military prowess. This seemed designed to suggest to the West that Mr. Khrushchev was dealing from strength and was prepared to use force to back up his demands if he found that necessary.

The background of Mr. Khrushchev's economic remarks was his effort to build a powerful economy to support Russia's posture of leadership in world affairs. To this end he has set his people the task of overtaking the United States by 1970 in per capita production.—N.Y.T.

## LECTURES

LECTURE DELIVERED TO SOUTH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, NAGPUR on Economic Development: Two Historic Pathways. by Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao, Vice-president, Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore, on 24 January 1960.

It was interesting to learn that the Indian Libertarian is known in Nagpur in certain college circles and its uncompromising attitude and philosophy in economic and political matters was appreciated. At the invitation of a lecturer in literature who is a subscriber, Mr. Venkata Rao who was in Nagpur in January, delivered a lecture on Economic Development: Two Historic Pathways—a subject chosen by the Nagpurian at the South Indian Association.

It was part of a Symposium at which two other speakers spoke on related topics. Mr. V. Rajagopalachari, Advocate from Madras, presided.

Mr. Venkata Rao contrasted the catastrophic, totalitarian, forced method of economic develop-

ment adopted by communist leaders in Soviet Russia. Lenin and Stalin with the more natural, evolutionary ways in which under free enterprise and State encouragement and co-operation, Eastern European countries and the USA built up a progressive economic system with a large measure of social welfare.

The excesses and wastes of the French Revolution passing from Terror to Napoleonism were avoided by Britain and the other countries of Western Europe who took a lesson from it. The evils of *laissez faire* and the inhuman exploitation of labour by capital were gradually brought under control. Trade unions and successive stages of expansion of the franchise democratised the polity and economy. Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries developed a modern highly industrialised free enterprise system affording high levels of wellbeing and prosperity for all.

There has been gradual improvement in the power of the State to control trade cycles and unemployment without recourse to undemocratic methods curtailing the freedom of the people to follow their independent vocations.

After the two wars, we have the examples of West Germany, Japan and Hongkong who have surpassed pre-war levels of prosperity through a judicious encouragement of private enterprise in the short period of a decade or less. It is not the case therefore that rapid industrialisation is not possible under free economy. In agriculture too Denmark, Holland, and Britain have preserved the free democratic peasant proprietor system without ceilings and dispossession of landlords while successfully stimulating high productivity.

The high-speed, forced, artificial system of industrialisation under complete totalitarian control on a communist basis without freedom and private property in a series of Five Year State Plans adopted in Soviet Russia, followed by East European satellites and Red China is a deviation from the normal, healthy, gradual, evolutionary system prevailing in the West.

**JUST OUT!**

**ENGLISH**

or

**LINGUISTIC CHAOS**

(Our Language Problem in Perspective)

By

**A. RANGANATHAN**

*Published by:*

**The Libertarian Social Institute,**

Arya Bhuvan,

Sandhurst Road (West),

Bombay-4.

Price: 25 nP.

The Russian deviation is due to exceptional circumstances of the need for developing defence against capitalist invasion and to the penchant for centralised power-hungry proclivities of the One-party dictatorship that developed after Lenin in Soviet Russia. This stress on military equipment was due to the political basis of world conquest adopted by revolutionary communism which did not feel safe until the whole world was communised.

There is no such sinister need and urgency in India and the under-developed countries.

No rate of economic development forced by dictatorship can bring self-sufficiency in military industry within the reach of under-developed countries like India. India can attain security only through a comprehensive alliance with the Free West in both military and economic matters.

The ultimate drive of international communism under the double lead of Soviet Russia and Red China is unmistakably towards the enslavement of Asia and Africa along with Europe and the Americans, North and South. If appeasement continues at the present rate, communism may triumph.

It is the part of wisdom for India to follow Western Europe in democratic planning and development through free economy with a minimum of State regulation without supplanting private enterprise. Moreover, private enterprise on the basis of private property is the indispensable bulwark and foundation of democratic society and humanistic well-being.

A. Venkatram

### SPINOZA THE RATIONALIST

Benedict de Spinoza is one of the great names in modern philosophy. Coming next to Descartes the father of modern European philosophy, he carried on the rationalist tradition inaugurated by him. It was the age of Galileo and Newton and Leibniz, of the great mathematicians and physicists who were remaking the picture of the world as a great system of nature obeying universal and necessary laws like the laws of gravitation in an impersonal way. The intelligibility of nature guaranteed the rationality of the world of nature. It extended to the world of mind as well.

Descartes speculated fruitfully on physiology and psychology analysing human energies and ways of emotional and voluntary action. Spinoza followed it up by a profound series of insights into psychology on which he reared a moral science.

Looking out upon the world of nature as it was presented by the advanced thought of his time, Spinoza formulated his philosophy of substance, attribute and mode. He envisaged nature including man as an infinite system of energies perpetually overflowing into an infinite number of modes or particular entities and organisms operating in accordance with physical laws.

Nature had no personal ends in view. It was a field of depersonal action. Nature needed no in-

telligence to direct its courses and determine its structures. The adaptation of organisms to the environment that seemingly displayed such marvellous design was not due to intelligence and conscious purposes. Nature was not free but determined. So was man.

Thus Spinoza tried to formulate a scientific philosophy. But the contest of the universal and infinite substance or nature, he envisaged in terms of a mystical, immanent and transcendent God and so became a "God-intoxicated man". He was the forerunner in this respect of Hegelian Idealism. But his rationalism and his idealism or mysticism stand apart. It is interesting to trace the relations between the two aspects of his thought. But the spirit of rationalism as a method of constructive thought based on sense-experience and reasoning is not committed to the conclusions of Spinoza. We can arrive at different results from the same route. The hope for a sane, scientific and humanist culture lies in the rationalist spirit and trail blazed by the great pioneers of modern thought of whom Spinoza was a leading exemplar.

Substance of the lecture delivered by Mr. M. A. Venkata Rao, Vice-President, Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore to the Secretariat Club Study Circle, Bangalore, on 12 January 1960.

A. Venkatram

Libertarian Social Institute, Bangalore.

## In Lighter Vein

"Dissidents Demand Kairon's Dismissal"—headline in a Delhi daily.

I understand from reliable ratiocination that Prime Minister Nehru is interpreting the demand as one for the elevation of Kairon to the Central Cabinet.

"If you have a sword in your heart," said Nehru the other day, quoting his master Gandhi, "take it out and use it and not nurse it in your heart." To be fair to him it must be said that Mr. Nehru did take it out against the only enemy he found in this wide world—Subhas Bose. "I'll fight Bose sword in hand," he said when Subhas raised the banner of India's freedom in Singapore.

According to the Prime Minister, "the situation faced by India was an important one and required not only a great effort of the mind but other efforts too. It was a situation which had never been faced before in the history of the country for the last two thousand years."

It is indeed a most extraordinary situation, a fantastic situation in all respects, but it's no use blaming our history of the last two thousand years, for we never had a Nehru before.

"At no time in the past ten years have we functioned under the urge of fear," says Prime Minister Nehru, except of course when the situation demanded reconnoitring over the areas occupied by the Chinese (lest our planes be shot down by them) or of fighting the Chinese 12,000 feet above sea level on barren mountain tops.

The text of the communique on Indo-Soviet co-operation stresses their common adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence.

It is becoming clearer every day that both India and Russia prefer the principles of peaceful co-existence to peaceful co-existence itself.

"Both sides expressed their gratification at the development of the relations between India and the Soviet Union in a spirit of goodwill and friendship as a result of their common adherence peace. These provide an expanding basis of co-operation...."

An expanding basis of co-operation in a contracting country.

We should wholeheartedly applaud Mr. Nehru for his support of Mr. Khrushchev's recent proposal to the UN for total and universal disarmament. For, while other countries will be growing weaker, India will be growing stronger—since the disarmament does not apply to lathis.

—M.N.T.

## Letter to the Editor

Madam,

The invasion of Indian territory and its occupa-

tion by Chinese troops, is the most shocking fact in India's political life. Illustrious ancestors of today's Chinamen expounded peace and developed high culture. But communism changed people's mind and peaceloving Chinamen became warlike tartars. Historp indicates that Mao-Tse-Tung put his country on Hitler-Mussolini-Mikado way and may face his ruin in future. The population in China increases every year about 12 million. Political economy always proved when the country is overpopulated then three ways only are left: starvation, immigration and war. Overpopulated Germany, Italy and Japan were a menace to all mankind, because of their unlimited expansion of China.

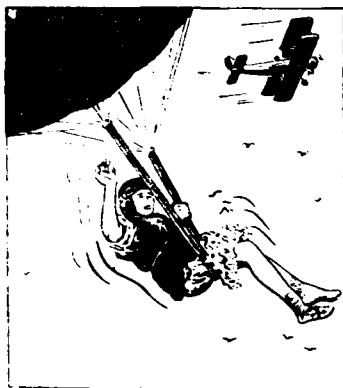
Some 4 years ago, long articles appeared in U.S. newspapers telling that China can make Russia a Chinese satellite. Big Soviet territories were before in China's hand and Russia knows China is thirsty to take them. Soviet Russia has the dangerous arms, money and tremendous natural sources; provoked by China, Russia will fight. U.S.A. has modern arms, manpower and inexhaustible money bag backed by proud American people. The occupation of Tibet and the flight of the Dalai Lama shocked the Buddhists in all countries as also in China. Fearing the power of Islam, China promised to keep peace with Pakistan but leaders in Islamic countries took Chinese promises with biggest distrust and newspapers said it openly in Mohameddan countries. Kaiser who wrote the book "Gelbes Jefar" (Yellow Danger) was right. China can never be trusted.

55 Hans Road,  
London, S.W.3.

—K. Lidkas

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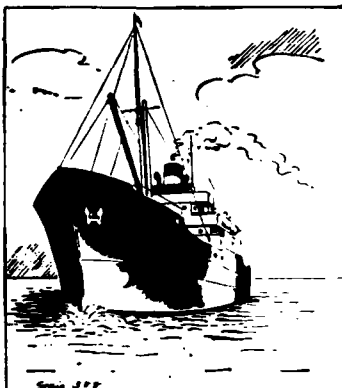
By Scio



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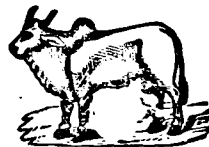
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